

Nahash Redivivus
IN A
LETTER

FROM

The PARLIAMENT of
SCOTLAND, Directed to the
Honorable *William Lenthall*, Speaker
of the House of COMMONS.

Examined and Answered, by *John Harrison*
of the Inner-Temple Esquire.

1 Sam. 11. 2. *And Nahash the Amonite said unto them, On this condition will I make a Covenant with you, that I may thrust out all your right eyes.*
Vers 13. *Saul put the hoast in three companies, and they came into the midst of the hoast in the morning watch, and slew the Amonites til the heat of the day; and it came to pass that they which remained were scattered, so that two of them were not left together.*

Si pars una fœdus violaverit, poterit altera a fœdere discedere, nam capita fœderis singula conditionum habent. H. Groc. in lib. 2. de jure belli & pacis Cap. 15. N. 15.

Si vel tantillum ex dictis pars alterutra transgrediretur supra fore pacta.
Eodem in loco ex Thucydide.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *Thomas Brewster*, and are to be sold at the three
Bibles in *Creed-Lane*, near the West-End of *Pauls*. 1649.



IN A
LETTER
FROM

The PARLIAMENT OF
SCOTLAND, Directed to the
Honorable William Lockhart, Esq.
of the House of COMMONS

Examined and Answered, by John Hunter
of the same House.

Printed by James Balfour, and are to be sold at the three
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Nabash Redivivus

In a Letter from the PARLIAMENT
of SCOTLAND, Directed to the Honorable
William Lenthall Esquire, *Speaker* of the House
of COMMONS.



Although it may perhaps seeme strange to those who having taken the boldness to believe themselves men, and in that belief to make use of their own Reason, and by the exercise thereof have formed to themselves right apprehensions of things and men, and have seen through those masks and pretences of Religion, Covenant and Reformation, by which our ill Neighbours on the other side of Tweede have endeavoured to vail and muffle themselves, while they pursued their own Interest: That either precious time should be spent, or good paper so ill employed as take notice of their late Letter from their Parliament misdirected, and therefore perhaps ought not to have had publick reception, much less an answer.

Yet for that there are many good souls amongst us, full of integrity and piety, and whose zeal to the Common wealth of *England* is as warm, and their affections as real as any others, according as they apprehend, who yet come not beyond that infant rate of Illumination and Reformation of Presbytery; and therefore while they are

under that *Scottish* Mist, and *Calidonian* darkness, are in great danger of seducement, and of being imposed upon by those, who march behinde, that *Stalking* horse to shoot their Game dead, and of being made by them to serve turns, perfectly opposite to their own good intentions, and promote Interests destructive to the Common-wealth of *England* and the good of the people in it: to which inconveniency their candor and innocency alone would never have subjected them. If they would but have acted as men, and have taken the pains to prove, and examine all things, and not have suffered themselves to be led blindfold by those Blind-guides amongst us, especially a few wretched ones here in *London*, the *Antisignani* of the *Appollyonists*, who wear a black garment to deceive, by whom they are made believe that the blessed Reformation in *Scotland*, and the happy Government there, is purely Evangelical, and according to the minde of Christ, and that all is Gospel that comes from thence; to which belief experience hath shewed us, that we have many honest men, though sufficiently weak, as firmly glewed, as any poor, wretched, and perhaps well-meaning Papist is to believe, that all is Canonically which the *Roman* Consistory shall resolve, that *Urim* and *Thummim* are the linings of the Popes Pall, and that Oracular verity is as clearly and frequently spoken now from his Chair, as it was of old from between the Cherubims. For the sake therefore of poor honest Presbyterians, whose weakness apprentizing their judgments to their Teachers, and they for Interest causing them to depend upon a forraign State, makes them as dangerous to this Commonwealth, besides their intentions, as those are intentionally, who are acted from *Rome*.

I shall for their sakes, and caution to them, crave leave of those that need it not a little to examine this *Scotts* Letter, and upon that occasion to offer some light to those who are benighted in a fog of that land of darkness.

And although I very well understand what the power of prejudice is, and of what difficulty to remove; and that it is not an easie matter to dispel those fustions, or couch those Cataracts that have been growing upon our Eyes from our birth; yet for that the intellectual Organ (pardon the abuse of the Expression) hath a right formation, and is intrinsically adequate to the receptions of light, if what is adventitious and extrinsical be removed,

I shall not wholly despair, that so many as love truth will see it, if it be rightly proposed, though perhaps not so at first as to distinguish men and trees; but when they shall perceive light to come in, they will undoubtedly say, Surely the light is a good thing, and find that it offends only those who have weak, or sore eyes.

I also know how hard it is to persuade any of their own imperfections, and especially in matter of knowledge, most men believing, that themselves (or some other, whom their laziness hath propounded to follow as an infallible guide) have attained the aim of knowledge; and that though many are below them, who ought to come up to their measure, yet that nothing is really beyond them, which they should move toward; and that what ever goes besides their rule, is Error and Schism; and what ever pretend beyond their view, is fancy and Enthusiasm: Most being like her in *Seneca*, who would not believe the blindness of her eyes, but accused her house of darkness.

To evidence therefore, that there is a suffusion remaining upon the discerning faculty of most men, it would be necessary to shew, that it is originally upon all, and how it grows. That so we may the more willingly submit to the cure of it. To this end, we might consider, that man liveth the several lives, or passeth through the several States of Vegetation, Sense, and Reason. Of the first, we shall say nothing, from thence this disease grows not; but when he comes out of infancy (though that also be on this side Vegetation) into Childhood, and begins to receive in the objects of Sense, specially those of Hearing and Seeing (the other will not in this subject concern us) he begins to form to himself certain *Idola* or Images of things, as they are brought to him by those Senses, which wanting a Judgment to examine, he layes them up as they offer themselves in the Store-house of his Memory; and by often, either Acts of Memory, or of new Reception of the same object by the same Sense, it becomes familiar to him, conformed to his Sense (to him (then) the highest Judge of Truth) and is seldom after reduced to examination, that being a thing which few believe to be necessary, and of which number fewer are willing to undergo the pains.

Thus from our Eyes come all Errors, Natural or Physical, and quantitative; and from our Ears, all those that refer to things Economical, Political, or Theological. I will not descend to the other Senses,

Senses, as nothing to this subject, they looking at Errors, personal or individual, nor was there need to have named the first but for evidence to the second, and demonstration both of the disease and the cure. In a word (that the Gate may not be too great for the House (this being no place for a just volume, which the subject might deserve, and exact from a greater leisure) nor seem to be built wholly of an Heterogeneous matter) we live a life of Sense before we can live a life of Reason; and by the frequent Acts of Sense, we put a false Tincture upon our then weak judgments, not yet able to act by themselves: which Tincture discolours to our after Receptions, whatsoever is rightly offered to our discussion or discourse, for *Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem, &c.*

How easily are children deceived in quantity at distance? what childe not otherwise told, doth not so firmly beleieve, being taught by his Sense, That the Moon is not greater then a Sieve, or at most then a Cart-wheel? and this conceit he shall carry to his grave, and beleieve it Knowledge, and his conception Truth, if he be not delivered by demonstration: For, that other way of being delivered by the assertion of some man, whom he beleieves in those things fit to be his Master, is onely to beget a belief, not a knowledge. But let this childe be instructed with Arithmetick and Geometry, and so prepared, let him read the doctrines of the Sphears and of Trigonometry, he will then easily discover there is a Parallax, and finde what it is; and by the help of his Lines, and Angles, and Numbers, be able to determine her distance, and to demonstrate her quantity to his own satisfaction; and wonder that his Sense should have so far missed his former opinion. I might say the like of the daily and annual motion which Sense hath put in the Heavens, though an inabled Judgment will finde it in the Earth, and deliver also the Planets from all retrograde motion in their respective Circles, and see it certain, equal, ordinate, and progressive, with respect to their own Centers, and that all *Anomalous Phenomena* arise from the place of our Contemplation of them; but this is to wander too far, onely the Truth that is found in these Contemplations, demonstrative and satisfactory, may well put men upon, at least, a suspicion, That Error and Mistake, may enter by the Ears, as well as by the Eyes, in all those three Considerations formerly mentioned; And that there may be some help to deliver them. Especially, we may beleieve
the

the first, when we see the *Jews, Turks, Papists*, and that thing called a *Common-Protestant* (the worst of the four) keeping so tenaciously those opinions (I would not call them principles, unless Catachrestically, and as to them) which they sucked in with their mothers milk; for which, never an one of them can give any better Reason then the other, nor any one of them, what becomes a reasonable man, no more then those who receive their Forms of Religion; and so also of Politicks later, and from older Teachers, with as little Demonstration, but with as much Obediential Weakness, as the child receives its Mothers Dictates, while it stands to be dressed at her Knee.

But no more of this: And I beg their pardon, that think this either too much, or too little to the purpose. I know it is necessary for some, and perhaps it may please others, I onely desire our Conscientious Presbyterians (for to the Factionous ones, the Scotch-acted ones, I have nothing to say, because I would say nothing in vain) would look to themselves, and take heed they be not misled by their dark Lanthorns, who understand not their own way: That they would but beleieve it is possible, they may erre and their guides too, whom they have chose to follow, and therefore prove all things, and with an acted Reason, read over this Scotch Letter, and what will be said to it; and that not onely in these few Pages, but in such other as will take pains to prepare Antidotes against these poysons propined by seeming friends: Perhaps it may appear to them upon an unprejudiced Examination, worthy their hate and abomination.

Now to the Letter, which followeth.

Sir,

SIR,

THe Estates of the Parliament of this Kingdom, having received a Letter, dated the 23. of May, signed by you as Speaker of the Parliament, and Written in the name of the Common-wealth of England; which Titles, in regard of the Solemn League and Covenant, and Treaties, and the many Declarations of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, are such as they may not acknowledge,

IT is a thing most worthy the observation of any who will take notice of the wonderful Acts of Providence that are abroad in the world (in the time of so great a Calastrophie) for the forming of his judgment to a right *prognosis* of Events, or Direction of his practice, into ways of safety to himself, That no man hath suffered, or faile, or been any way unhappy, or unsuccessful in any of his endeavors, but he hath been instrumental to it, and that generally by precipitating themselves into such Actions, in the pursuit of a false or mistaken Interest; which most Spectators, though but of common foresight could discern, would prove surest and dangerous. Follow this beginning of these men to the end; and take thence another example of this rule.

How necessary is it to have no Interest in our pursuit, but that of God? and how easily doth he attain the end of his designs, that designs onely to be subservient to the will of God, as he shall be led into it by the evidence of the Divine Revelation? He that walketh uprightly, walketh safely; but he that perverteth his ways, shall be found out.

That foulest Hypocrisie that ever the Sun looked upon, far beyond that of The Temple of the Lord, The Temple of the Lord: Or, We have *Abraham* to our Father, cannot but have heavily provoked the Omniscience of the Divine Purity, and an heavy judgment must needs attend them; which that it may come upon them with effect, and finde them naked, and without defence; See how they blow up
their

their own Bolwarks, and cast away whatsoever should uphold them; and must needs do so with the piete of their Common Subject of all their gross hypocrisie, and provocation, the Solemn League and Covenant.

Are they so sure, they shall never more need the Common-wealth of *England*, or the Parliament here, that they may not acknowledg it? and that by reason of the Solemn League and Covenant, the Treaties, and Declarations of both Kingdoms? Can it be imagined, that these were ever made, or entered into, with an intention to give the Scottish Nation a power paramount over that of *England*? What plaistered foreheads have this people, that can thus impudently still offer these things, which have been so often cleared by the Parliament of *England*, and with light so staring in their faces, that they could never abide to look on them! We know they never answered them, and believe they stand so convinced of the impossibility, that it will never be attempted. When they offer any thing in answer, it will not want a Reply, if it can be worth it. For the Treaties they speak of, it is believed here, there are none in force. They have most happily delivered us, by their barbarous, inhumane, and sadisragous invasion of this Nation the last year, which was determined, promoted, carried on, and acted by Authority of the Parliament of *Scotland*. Sure they cannot say, That that invasion was also according to the Treaty and Covenant, and in pursuance of the ends thereof, Impudence it self must acknowledg it a breach; if so, how hath it been since made up? Its true, Acts may be done in a Nation, by some of a Nation against Treaties, which are not thereby broken, but reparation and satisfaction may be made, and the Treaty not suffer by it. But it is certainly an undeniable Maxime, That an Act cannot be done by a Nation against a Treaty (by the supream Authority) but it dissolves the Treaty, and can never be repaired, but by mutual consent. And therefore at this time, this Nation is through the merciful dispensation of the wisest providence, as free from whatsoever relation or mutual Obligation to the Nation of *Scotland*, by the Treaties and Covenant, as if they had never been made. And for Declarations of this Parliament, they binde no more then any other Laws do, which the Parliament hath power to repeal, as often as in their judgments they finde it good for the people to do so, and to do otherwise, were a breach of their Trust, and neglect of

their duty. If the *Scots* make Laws like those of the *Medes* and *Perians* (which we conceive they do not) much good may they do them; we envy it not. The Parliament of *England* is more grave, then to dance after a Bag-Pipe. It were to be wished, we had not some others among us, more in love with their baubles. But who are like to loose most by this not acknowledging? are we bound when they are free? let them not over-value themselves; may they not have need again of their Neighbors? have they made a Solemn League and Covenant also, with all the Cavalierish party; with *Montross*, and all his Heathen Mountainers? Let them make such a Covenant, and with Death, and Hell too, either it shall not stand, or they shall fall by it. If they should need us again, (and why perhaps may they not?) must they not eat their word, notwithstanding the Solemn League and Covenant?

It is very probable, that before the Common-wealth of *England* come to Treat with them again, they will make them acknowledge them a Common-wealth, or make them do that which some of them will think worse for them; though perhaps it will not be really so for most. It might be as well for some among them, if they were a Common-wealth too; but it is not necessary they should be made happy against their wills; and indeed, all men are not fit for it. Some are fit to be free-men, and some delight to be slaves.

They may remember the States of *Holland* would not treat with the King of *Spain* for their twelve years Truce, till he owned them for free Estates, and gave them the Titles of *High and Mighty*.

And I hope this Common-wealth will as well know how to be duly acknowledged, and as punctually exact it, though I believe they will not (as they need not) swell up to an appearance of greatness, by the putting on of those bubbles and bladders of empty and windy Titles, which may very well be omitted, where it is resolved by the actions of Justice, Prudence, and Fortitude, to lay a foundation for reputation and respect in the judgment and affections of men.

One short question to the signall hypocrisie of this Paragraph before I leave it.

Do they believe there is a God? Or that he is Omniscient? Is he the Searcher of hearts? Are they so tender of the Covenant now, that they cannot acknowledg *England* a Common-wealth, and yet
last

last year, notwithstanding the Covenant, could invade it with an Army, and commit all manner of hostile Acts in it, of the effects whereof many Countie's labour at this day?

For a close to this Paragraph.

Let them remember they must recant, and they must acknowledge this a Common-wealth. This were a hard task to some spirits; but their Stool of Repentance hath prepared them to such things, and indeed made them able to do any thing without blushing. If the winde grow high, they can lower their Sayls, they use to rant like Knights Errant when they have no enemy, but they are as submissive as Spaniels, when well cudgelled.

Paragraph 2.

As for the matter therein contained, those many things of just Resentment, wherein satisfaction is demanded from this Kingdom, are only mentioned in the generall, and therefore cannot so well receive a particular Answer. But if by these generall expressions, the late unlawfull Engagement against England be understood, They desire that their Protestation against the same in Parliament, and the opposition made thereunto by them afterward in Arms (Which they never laid down, untill the garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle were restored unto the Kingdom of England) may be remembered, together with the Letter of the House of Commons to the generall Assembly of this Kirk, of the third of August, 1648. And that Lieut. Gen. Cromwell, authorized from both houses of Parliament, did upon the fifth of October last, represent to the Committee of Estates of this Kingdom, the wrongs and injuries committed against the Kingdom of England in that Engagement, and thereupon did demand, that they would give assurance in the name of the Kingdom of Scotland, not to admit or suffer any who have been active in, or consenting to that Engagement, to be employed in any publique place, or trust whatsoever; which was not only granted, and afterward confirmed in Parliament, but all Acts for prosecution thereof have been repealed, and all proceeding relating thereto, publiquesly disclaimed. And if any other wrongs shall be made known unto us, we shall be ready to returne such an answer, as may give just satisfaction.

WHat those things of just Resentment are, which the Letters of the Parliament of England mentions in generall, parti-

cular pens can take no notice of. They may know them in due time in reference to former, as well as later actions in *England*, and a seven years continued progresse in *Ireland*, which they may assure themselves are not forgotten.

As to the late unlawfull Engagement, which they so readily confesse, and withall tell of their Protestation against it; but it is well known they said nothing against it, till they saw the Army would be commanded by such as would not serve their turnes, nor carry on their Interest, but the Invasion was generally liked, and promoted by their boutefeu Priests, till they saw they were out-witted by the Fox *Hamilton*, and when they saw the enemies of their Kirk-Government in power in the Army, then indeed the Engagement was unlawful, because it might have proved Prelaticall, but had it been Orthodox it had been lawful enough. They may take notice that it is not their Protestation that will build again the houses they fired, store with plenty the Countyes they wasted, restore to honor violated Chastity, or recover the lives lost in resisting their Covenanting Invasion; and therefore notwithstanding their Protestation, the breach was National, and so must the satisfaction be; and the Common wealth of *England* will expect a better then that which universally expiates all things there; the wawling humiliations in the Stool of hyprocric. But besides, they say that they continued in Arms till the Garrisons of *Burwick* and *Carlisle* were delivered, and therefore they did more then protest; It is true indeed they did, but that they were able to do so, let them thank that Honorable Lieut. General, who like a good disciple of the best Master, had learned to forgive his Enemies, and to render them good for their evil, who had a wretched Countrey justly forfeited by their wicked invasion wholly at his mercy, as were also all that dissembling crew that then cried little less then *Hosanna* to him, and who have since appeared again, what they then were, and what his Honor was then told they then were, and what he would after finde them, (*viz. Scors*) though the excess of his own candor, and the melting flowings of his Christian spirit would neither suffer him to believe what he could not chuse but know, nor act as became their provocations; but let that pass, perhaps the coals of fire he then heaped upon their heads, may be a more lasting torment to them then the execution of his Sword.

They say the Lieut. General represented the wrongs and injuries committed

committed against *England* in that Engagement. He did not then revenge them or take reparation, he might have done the one as well as the other, or as well as he gave that subsistence they have. Those forces who had beaten their numerous Army in *England*, might without great difficulty have gathered their gleanings of men, and consumed all the heapes of their Harvest, the time of year was proper to have destroyed it: had his horse stayed there to have eaten their Oates, their men must have starved for want of food. For what they granted or repealed, which they boast in this Paragraph, they may thank him who gave them a capacity to do it, and which they will finde they will not be able to maintain without some help more merciful to their necessities then any that will be solicited for them, by either *Montross*, or *Forth*, or *Cochram*, or that shall be brought them by their so hastily embraced *Charles* the Second, the fates of whose house they have seemed with great affection to espouse, and think with their bladders to Buoy up his sinking ship.

For the Garrisons of *Barwick* and *Carlisle*, we shall not thank them for delivery of them, they would have cost them more to keep then the pay of the souldiers in those towns; there were *English* forces among them which they were desirous might depart, lest their longer stay there might further discover their weakness and poverty, and increase it, and besides, perhaps they might have sown among them some Tares of Error, Heresie, and Schism, which have troubled the Presbytery to weede out of the Kirk, a thing which they fear more then all the prophaneſs in the Nation, for that they have a *Cathobian*, the blessed stool: but for this other, the Doctors are not yet agreed upon a Recipe.

And for their compliance with the Lieut. Generals demands, that none who had been in that Engagement should have any employment in any publick place or trust, it adds nothing to their merit an obligation upon them by that demand, in establishing thereby their subsistence they had not been without that act of his; the compliance wherewith they would have now so ſan believed, was an effect of their own ingenuity and gratitude, dispositions perhaps which they are no more able to bring into act, then their whole wretched Countrey is to give just satisfaction to the wrong which this Nation hath within these ten years suffered by them.

Paragraph 3.

If the Bonds of Religion, Loyalty to the King, and mutual Amity and Friendship, betwixt the Kingdoms be impartially considered, according to the Solemn League and Covenant, and the Professions and Declarations of both Kingdoms ; The Estates of Parliament think that they have just cause to complain of the late proceedings in England, in reference to Religion, the taking away of the Kings life, and the changing the Fundamental Government of that Kingdom ; against which, this Kirk and Kingdom, and their Commissioners have protested, and given testimony, wherunto they do still adhere.

IF the principles of the Common-Freedom and Justice, the Rules and Laws of Nations, and of mutual Amity and Friendship with one another be considered, the Common wealth of *England* may think they have just cause to complain of the *Scots*, not onely for invading this Nation with an Army, but usurping with a ridiculous impudence, a power paramount to the Supream Power of *England*, assembled in Parliament, upon all occasions, taking upon them, not onely to direct what they are to do with the King, and in the Government, but they will needs make a Religion, and impose that too. What State-Religion is, which for political respects, is almost every where imposed upon the people, this is not a place to examine. But it would deserve their weightiest consideration, whether some thing be not done herein, by way of usurpation of the incommunicable Throne. And while men cry out of prophaneness (and justly too, perhaps it never more abounded) commit the most horrible that ever was: in compelling Religion to dress it self in Forms to serve their secular Interests ; but hindering all they can the progress of it, in Purity and Power, to the promoting of it in that way, which needs not their help. Have we not the Scriptures in *England*, and in *English* too? and are not they the rule of all things that are to be believed, and all things to be done? May not we expect the Divine Discoveries and Assistance, to such as humbly and duly seek to know the Will and Minde of God, as well as they of *Scotland*? May we not keep a Smith in *Israel*? Do we offer to impose ought upon them?

them? Did not they think it an intolerable burthen, when their late Tyrant, by the Councel of his Priests, would obtrude upon them a Rule of Worship, and State of Government Ecclesiastical? And is it so sweet to do what they thought too hard to suffer, as it put them to the hazard of all to avoid it? But perhaps they will say, That was a corrupt Form of Worship and Government; but this of theirs, is the best Reformed. They should say, The best that they know; and then we will desire them, to give leave to us to be free, that are not, perhaps, so fully perswaded of it. To beg the thing in Question, is no good Logick; and may we not think it possible, they may mis it in their Theologie too.

For that of the Kings life, the Parliament of *England* hath published to all the world, the Causes of their so proceeding with the late King of *England*. If he be a Tyrant, oppresses his people against the Laws, which he tramples under foot, and puts his will in the place, levy War, and seek to make a Conquest of the people, and God gives the people a victory against him, he falls into their hands; they propound him terms for their future safety, he refuseth what they judge necessary; they thereupon bring him to judgment, and condemn, and execute him as a Tyrant: What hath *Scotland* to do with this? Because the King of *Scotland* will tyrannize *England*, therefore *England* must not secure it self, because *Scotland* will not give it leave. How long hath this dependence been?

They cannot but remember it was wont to lie on the other side; why was there so much care had else in penning the Preface to the large Treaty? the breaking whereof, by their invasion, hath put things as they were.

As to the change of the Fundamental Government, as they are pleased to call it; who made them so well able to judge what Fundamental Government is with us, that they can so magisterially pronounce of it? But what hath their Kirk to do with it? Are they set up over Nations, to pluck up, and to plant? Where is the *jus divinum* for it? And how far doth their jurisdiction extend? It may be it is as boundless as the Sea: We are sure the Sea bounds it not (for they practise at that rate in *Ireland*, as they pronounce here) and, perhaps, if it should get a little more strength, it would shew its impudence further. But it doth well for its time, it hath not been long a growing, it made a good stop last yeer, to put it self out of pupilage, and
Commenced

Commenced Independent; it was more then the old one could ever do, in the height of her pride and Ruff. Their proceſſ herein, hath given ſufficient testimony to all that obſerve; that they are not much troubled with bluſhing; that they are very forward to meddle with that they have nothing to do with; and are heterogenial to that ſort of people, who are of that Kingdom, which is ſaid not to be of this world; they love ſo much to be eſpouſing all ſecular Interests, and mixing and immerging themſelves in them; and there is the leſs hope they will mend for the future, becauſe they, ſtill, at preſent, do ſo conſtantly adhere. But it is not impoſſible they may change their mindes; there is one way to effect it.

Paragraph 4.

And ſince it is apparent there hath been of late in England, a back-ſliding and departure from the grounds and principles, wherein the two Kingdoms were engaged; the Parliament of this Kingdom doth propound, That the late proceedings there, againſt Covenant and Treaties, may be diſclaimed and diſavowed, as the proſecution of the late unlawful Engagement againſt England, and their former Profeſſions, may return to the ſame. Upon which grounds, they are content to authoriſe Commiſſioners on behalf of this Kingdom, to Treat with Commiſſioners from both Houſes of the Parliament of England, ſitting in freedom, concerning all matters of juſt complaint, which either Nation may have againſt the other, and for redreſs and reparation thereof, and to do every thing that may further conduce, for continuing the happy Peace and Union betwixt the Kingdoms, which can never be ſetled upon ſo ſure a foundation as the former Treaties, and the Solemn League and Covenant: From which, as no alteration, or revolution of Affairs, can abſolve either Kingdom, ſo we truſt in God, that no ſucceſs, whether good or bad, ſhall be able to divers us. But as it hath been our care in time paſt, it ſhall be ſtill our real endeavor, for the future, to keep our ſelves free of all compliance with, or inclining to the Popiſh, Prelatical, and Malignant party, upon the one hand, or to thoſe that are enemies to the Fundamental Government, by King and Parliament, and countenance and maintain Error, Hereſie, and Schiſm, upon the other. I have no other thing in command from the Parliament

Kingdom of this Kingdom, but to take notice, that there is no Answer returned to their Letter of the fifth of March last, and so rests,

MAny things may be apparent to you, which are not true, nor will appear so to those who have their souls exercised to discern good and evil, or who lie not under the pre-occupations of prejudice. It is not to us apparent that stand nearer, that there is any such back-sliding and departure from the grounds and principles, wherein the two Nations were engaged; of which, if they would convince, they should do well to enumerate what those grounds and principles were, that upon agreement in matter of fact; we might descend to the consideration of, whether they be principles, and then whether or no they be deserted, before they accuse of Apostacy, and deserting of Principles.

If we consider what it was that stirred up either, or both the Nations to engage in the war that hath been made against the late King, it will appear, it was the sense of the present tyranny and oppression, and a just fear of greater. That which was propounded by them in that Engagement, can be no other, but the good of the Nations in their just Liberty; which being the ultimate end propounded, must needs be the first principle of motion; and onely that can deserve the name of a principle, and every thing else is a superstructure, and can onely stand in the relation and Category of a means to that end; and every means is to be made use of onely, so far as it is conducive to the end, and to be departed from when it deviates, and to be left behind, and others taken up, when the former fall short. In the beginning it was hoped, it was wished, That the King might have seen, and owned, and mended his Errors, and that the good of the people might have consided with the continuance of the King; and there wanted not many addresses for it, and long expectations of it, nor overtures of such dangerous concession, as we have cause for ever to bless God, whose watchful providence kept us, in hiding from his eyes, the means of our ruine, which were by our idolatry of Kingship put into his hands; and at last discovering to us, how incommensurable that means was to our just end, and that there was an impossibility of a coexistence of Kingship, and the Nations happiness, and the sacrilegious invasion

of *England*, by the Nation of *Scotland*, was not the worst Collyrium for clearing our eyes, in this particular.

The Parliament of *England* therefore finding the former remedies not onely improper and invalid, but dangerous and destructive; which at best would but have wrought a palliate cure, and induced a cicatrice upon the orifice of a Fistula; in discharge of their duty, they proceeded forward upon their first principle, to a Fundamental Cure; and not onely to cure the disease in the present, and continuing cause, but to eradicate the original cause it self, and take away thereby, all common possibility of recidivation. And this hath not been to go backward, but to go forward. And if the *Scots* be angry at the distance they finde between us, they may do well to inquire, whether it proceeds not from their standing still, and not pursuing their principle rather, then from our Apostasie from it; unless they will be ingenuous for once, and confels, that they proceeded not upon the same principle, *viz.* The good of the people governed, but rather looked at some Interest of the Governors; and for so much they have done their share; so as a King hath long been nominal onely among them, having had nothing at all to do in their Legislative power, hath had no Commissioners in their Parliament, or Kirk assembly, as formerly; nor any thing to do with his little Revenue there; only the Name was necessary to be continued there, and nothing else, but his full power in *England*; how else should they hope for the great Offices at Court, the opportunity of Bribery in the Bed-chamber, the prodigal, and accountless waste of the privy Purse, for the relief of their Beggery; unto which, to compel their King, they know the best of all men, by their unblushing importunities. But for the good of the governed, it is not yet apparent they have done any thing for their release from a miserable slavery, not much on this side that condition which our late Tyrant (setting before him a well known pattern) had designed us unto. They suffering their vassals (for so they are pleased to honor their Tenants) to be in a condition, when their many chaldrons of Victual-Rent is once paid, in little better condition, then those whose Livery is a Canvas Suite, and Wooden Shodes, with this difference, that for defect of Wood, to make such Provision, many there, especially of the other Sex, are forced to go bare-foot. But to make these in any sort free, were to abate their own greatness, which hath no other foundation,

foundation, then the miserable oppression which themselves put upon the People, for whose satisfaction, and to give them some content, their Ministers tell the Common people they are the happiest Souls, and the purest Kirk under heaven, for they are as perfectly freed from Popery and Prelacy, as they are from all things that are comfortably fit either to eat or wear.

But the Letter saith, Their Parliament doth propound, that the late proceedings here against Covenant and Treaties may be disclaimed and disavowed, as the late unlawful Engagement against *England* hath been disclaimed and disavowed there, and that such as have departed from these principles, and their former professions, may return to the same, upon which grounds they are content to authorise Commissioners to treat; Where was this done? was it in the Parliament House, or in the Consistory? Had they not been lately imposing some Penance? and now they cannot get out of that Scile. The Parliament sent unto them to offer their resentments of the injuries this Nation received from them, and demanded satisfaction for them, and a way, if they thought fit to embrace it, for an amicable composure. The *Scots* propound and obtrude previous conditions, which the Parliament of *England* must yeild to, or they will not treat: In good time, who are like to have most use of it? worse termes then that of *Nabash*, the right eyes would have served him, yet that demand cost him dear; but here nothing less then self-distruction; We must return back to what we have left, cease to be a free Common-wealth, suffer a *Scottish* Presbytery to be set up amongst us, submit to their King, and then, forsooth, they will authorise Commissioners to treat with Commissioners from the Houses of the Parliament of *England*, sitting in freedom, and will embrace us again, and be our *DEAR* Brethren; and when this is done, what shall we get by it, but as much as they, who hug a Begger, and catch a Loue. It seems they account themselves very desirable, they require such conditions; but they consider not what was told them in the beginning of this Discourse, they may be hereby instrumental to their own sufferings, excluding all possibility of amicable composure, and put themselves hereby into an incapacity to be otherwise treated, then as enemies. But before we proceed further, we must aske their meaning of the word *Freedom*, because they say their Treaty must be with the Houses of Parliament, sitting in Freedom;

What want of freedom is there in this Parliament? there is not two Houses, what have they to do with that, who have but one themselves; and they may be clear of alterations, all men know they have suffered alterations in their Parliament; the removal of their Lords, of the Articles, was as material a step to the eclipsing of their Kings power, and restoring their people to their just liberty, as any alteration made with us in Parliament; but that they will say was necessary, and conducing to the good of the people there: we will not deny but it might, and will exercise no act of judgment upon it; we say, what we had done, was also necessary, and conducing to the peoples good, and let them be desired to suspend their usurped Paramount power, and not judge our actions, nor interpose in that, wherein they have nothing to do.

But the House sits not in freedom, many Members are kept away by force, and it sits under the power of the Sword; so it hath done for seven years past, as to the protection of it, or else it had not sat at all, it had fallen by the late Kings Sword, if it had not protected itself by its own. But let us ask, how sits their Parliament, is there not something of a Sword there? Did not some of those now in power, when their Army was destroyed in *England*, raise an Army in *Scotland*, and with it forced their then Parliament from *Edinburgh*, and by the power of the Sword, which they were inabled to keep in their hand by that part of our Army that marched into *Scotland* with the Honorable Lieut. Gen. a preserving favour, which they could then own, and give thanks for, they called a new Parliament, and gave Rules previous to election, that none should be Members that had been in the late Engagement against *England*; and upon this ground they still keep out what Lords (as well as others) they fear will divest them of their Government. This is all very lawful with them, and the Parliament very free and it writes this Letter as believing it is so, and yet can upbraid us, because some were kept out by force, which the Parliament keeps out still, who perhaps were no great enemies to their late unlawful Engagement; and some perhaps there were, more their Spies and Agents, then became any trusted with an interest more contradistinct to theirs, then to admit of a Coalition much less exchange; and who at this day hold such correspondencies with them, if they be not deceived, who think they have means to know, as may hereafter cost them very dear; we

are yet to learn, why the Parliament of *England* may not keep out those, who are too good friends to a State, that invaded us with an Army. as well as the present Parliament of *Scotland* will not admit of those who engaged against *England*, and would not suffer their party to command them in the expedition. 'Tis true, all who are not now in the House, are not their friends; some there are who know them too well, ever to entertain such terms with them, whose being in or out, of the cause of it, if I should meddle with, I should imitate them, which is something against my genius: interposing in that, in which I have nothing to do; and which onely belongs to the judgment of the House.

Therefore I hope they will talk no more of Freedom, but come to the next, which is, For the continuing the happy peace and union between the Nations; for they may please to take notice, that without their leave, the one of them is no Kingdom, but a Commonwealth; but for the continuance, they cannot get out of their dreams: What was the Invasion of *England*, a fancy onely, or an apparition? Sure some of them felt it otherwise, when they came to waken in the other world: Are we still at peace? doth the union hold? by what bands? have they not broken all that can unite humane Society? have they played the whore so shamefully, and is the marriage still good? They invaded us with an Army against all Leagues, and Treaties, they thereby set us loose: And there is no more tie between the Nations, then there is between us and the *Transilvanians*; with whom, we have not, nor never had any League. Yet we shall not certainly refuse a Peace of Neighborhood, when just, and due satisfaction for wrongs is made by them; but no more *dear Brethren*. This Commonwealth so much exenterated for recovery of its Liberty, and not least by them, will not be always able to bear the charge. Peace in it own nature, is the most happy State of all below, and the dark shadow of the eternal State of rest: But Peace may have conditions worse then war; and for removal of which, a war may be justly, and necessarily undertaken. Peace is not simply happiness, without compleating adjuncts; but for their desire of union, we are to be excused; though we cannot believe it a fruit of their pity, we may discern their Interest through it: and we discern it is ours to have no union with them; nor is it indeed possible; union is of homogeneals: we can never unite, nay, we can never conjoin;

conjoyn; where conjuncture is made, there is continuity: here is too much dissimilitude, will be too much incomppliance. We may dwell quietly together, if they will (and that will be all,) if they will not, they may chuse. But let them set their hearts at rest for any more union; and therefore they may be silent of the means, and not dispute of what is the surest foundation; whether the former Treaties, or any other: the former are dissolved, and if ever we make any more with them, I hope now they are better known, they will be better looked to.

As to their dogmatizing, that no revolution or alteration of Affairs can absolve either Kingdom from the former Treaties, and Solemn League and Covenant (if they intend their relixive *which* to reach to both) we shall tell them, That all the Doctors are not of that opinion; and either they wrote this unconsulted the Lawyers, or if they gave such an opinion, they were not *jurisperiti*. And for the Covenant, it was an appendant to a Treaty, and some that never took it, think it cannot stand by it self (to say no worse of it) and so let it go.

For their trust, that no success either good or bad shall be able to divert them; they must excuse us, if we have not that faith, truly we may be allowed to be *Thomists*, when we have to deal with *Scotists*. We beleve a very little Interest, a very little profit will do it, it is radicated; the impulse of their genius will carry them to it; and if their King had been able to have but touched that Key, there had been a more harmonious close between him and their Commissioners. Yet it seems they would have been content to have come to an equation, if he would have contributed to the forming of a *Prosthapharesis*. 'Tis like they will take heed of Popery and Prelacy, because they act among them an higher degree of Popery, properly so called; but for Malignancy, I will not be their Compurgator: There is much variety of it, it is very possible there may be some kindes or degrees of it among them. For their joyning King and Parliament in their own Government, I would ask again, what influence he hath into it, more then barely a name? As for this Commonwealth, we must needs ask them again, what they have to do with it? That they will not maintain Error, Heresie, or Schism, we would take their words, if they were sure they could tell what Error, and Heresie, and Schism is. But perhaps they make a man
of

of Straw, and then fight with it; or call that which is Truth, by the name of Error: For we cannot conceive them to be more than men; and while they are but so, they may possibly erre, and erre in that very act, by which they judg of Error; and then for ought they can thus preassure us, they may maintain Error, and condemn Truth, as well as their Pharisaical fore-fathers, who condemned truth it self; and the same may be said of their Heresie. We shall charge them with none, and desire them to consider, that if there more Christian like for them to do the like by us. The best Christians have been persecuted for such, by the Whore of *Rome*, with whom, if they have no affinity, it were to be wished they would not use her Dialect. For the other hard word, of Schism, it signifies little. The Protestants made a Schism from *Rome*, and *Calvin* from the Protestants. The old Prelatical party that were *Calvinistical* in their doctrine, yet accounted you as much Schismatical for your Government, as you do the Independents for theirs and as they do the Anabaptists, and others for departing from them; is a thing as they mean it, in order to their simple Government, of no consideration; they may be as tender of it as they will, he had little to do would trouble them about it, it helps their pittiful declamations, to fill up their hour with an use of Reproof, which being a known Common place, save their brains a stretch on the rack for invention, and for their sakes let them enjoy it. I shal not trouble them about it, nor with any thing further, then to desire them to take notice, that there have been severall peeces published by the Parliament of *England*, out of which it seems, they can draw nothing of advantage to themselves, nor out of themselves any thing that will serve as a just answer to them, all which are of an elder date, then that of the fift of March last, which therefore they shall do well to answer first, and after that take notice that their letter of the fift of March is not answered: and withall, perhaps it were not a thing wholly imprudential, to think of a better answer to this last Letter; and consider, whether by some other they might have better consulted their own good; perhaps hereafter (this overture being thus Magisterially rejected) when their necessity shall put them upon a more becoming address, they may be told, We are now both of us grown wiser.

FINIS.